DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 285 844 SP 029 257

AUTHOR Brophy, Jere
TITLE Educating Teachers about Managing Classrooms and Students. Occasional Paper No. 115.
INSTITUTION Michigan State Univ., East Lansing. Inst. for Research on Teaching.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE Jul 87
NOTE 46p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Washington, DC, April 20-24, 1987).
AVAILABLE FROM Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education, Michigan State University, 252 Erickson Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824 ($4.00).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Classroom Techniques; Discipline; Educational Needs; Elementary Secondary Education; Intervention; Teacher Behavior; Teacher Education; *Teacher Student Relationship; *Teaching Skills; *Teaching Styles

ABSTRACT

This paper considers the scholarly knowledge base that exists on classroom management in an effort to educate teachers about managing classrooms and students. The concepts of instruction, classroom management, student socialization, and disciplinary intervention as functions commonly performed by teachers are defined. It is argued that a sustained focus is needed on a single integrated approach, taught as an action system that includes attention not only to propositional knowledge (concerning principles of effective management) but also to procedural knowledge (of how to implement these principles) and conditional knowledge (of when and why to implement them). Other recommended elements include conceptual change teaching designed to confront and correct inappropriate attitudes or beliefs that students may bring with them; emphasizing the basics by concentrating on the most commonly occurring classroom teaching situations; and developing skills as much as possible through the apprenticeship approach (modeling, coaching, scaffolding/fading) but supplementing this as needed with didactic instruction in basic concepts and skills, structured classroom observation and student teaching experiences, and use of case materials and simulation exercises as substitutes for field experiences that cannot be included in the program. (CB)

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EDUCATING TEACHERS ABOUT MANAGING CLASSROOMS AND STUDENTS

Jere Brophy

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Jere Brophy

Published by

The Institute for Research on Teaching
College of Education
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824-1034

July 1987

This work is sponsored in part by the Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education, Michigan State University. The Institute for Research on Teaching is funded from a variety of federal, state, and private sources including the United States Department of Education and Michigan State University. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position, policy, or endorsement of the funding agencies.

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Co-Directors: Jere E. Brophy and Andrew C. Porter

Editorial Staff
Editor: Sandra Gross
Assistant Editor: Sally Pratt

Abstract

The author defines instruction, classroom management, student socialization, and disciplinary intervention as functions commonly performed by teachers, and suggests guidelines for educating teachers in the latter three functions. A knowledge base reflecting established scientific findings exists to inform teacher education concerning classroom management. No such knowledge base exists concerning student socialization and disciplinary intervention, but principles reflecting a consensus of expert opinion can be identified. The author argues for sustained focus on a single integrated approach, taught as an action system that includes attention not only to propositional knowledge (concerning principles of effective management) but also to procedural knowledge (of how to implement these principles) and conditional knowledge (of when and why to implement them). Other recommended elements include conceptual change teaching designed to confront and correct inappropriate attitudes or beliefs that students may bring with them; emphasizing the basics by concentrating on the most commonly occurring classroom teaching situations; and developing skills as much as possible through the apprenticeship approach (modeling, coaching, scaffolding/fading) but supplementing this as needed with didactic instruction in basic concepts and skills, structured classroom observation and student teaching experiences, and use of case materials and simulation exercises as substitutes for field experiences that cannot be included in the program.

EDUCATING TEACHERS ABOUT MANAGING CLASSROOMS AND STUDENTS[1]

Jere Brophy[2]

My task in this paper is to consider the scholarly knowledge base on the topic of classroom management as it may inform efforts to educate teachers about managing classrooms and students. It is not so much to review the research that has contributed to this knowledge base (see Brophy, 1983 and Doyle, 1986 for such reviews), but instead to synthesize what this research tells us about effective classroom management and to offer a perspective on its implications for teacher education.

I begin by considering the roles of schools within societies and the roles of teachers and students within these schools and by offering some basic definitions and conceptual distinctions concerning classroom management and related topics. I do this not merely because it is a logical way to introduce the topic, but because the most important of the many useful findings that have emerged from recent scholarly work on the topic is that teachers' basic conceptualizations of the goals and methods of classroom management tend to determine the styles and levels of success with which they manage their classrooms. In particular, research findings converge on the conclusion that teachers who approach classroom management as a process of establishing and maintaining effective learning environments tend to be more successful

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[1]This paper was presented during a symposium on classroom management, organization, and discipline held at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 1987, Washington, D.C.

[2]Jere Brophy is coordinator of the Classroom Strategy Research Project and a professor in the Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University.

than teachers who place more emphasis on their roles as authority figures or disciplinarians. Thus, in many ways the purview adopted here in introducing and discussing the knowledge base is itself a part of that knowledge base, and probably the most important part.

Certain basic facts about schooling form the backdrop for consideration of the topic of classroom management. Societies establish schools as formal mechanisms for educating new generations in a range of academic knowledge and skills and for socializing their attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. The socialization function of schooling is not as formalized in the United States as it is in countries that feature state-adopted religions or political ideologies promoted through centralized ministries of education. Nevertheless, in addition to instructing their students in the formal academic curriculum, American teachers routinely socialize them via a "hidden curriculum" that reflects the values of the nation, the region, the local community, and teachers as individuals. Teachers are charged with conducting this education and socialization with classes of 20 to 40 students, and the students are charged with responsibility for attending school, cooperating with teachers, and attempting to learn what their lessons and assignments are designed to teach them. Implicitly, both teachers and students have continuing role restrictions and responsibilities obligating them to spend their time in schools pursuing the purposes for which the schools were established, although teachers have considerable autonomy in determining how these responsibilities will be carried out (Schwille et al., 1983).

Major <u>teaching functions</u> include instruction, classroom management, student socialization, and disciplinary intervention. <u>Instruction</u> refers to actions taken specifically to assist students in mastering the formal curriculum (presenting or demonstrating information, conducting recitations or discussions,

supervising work on assignments, testing, reteaching, etc.). Classroom management refers to actions taken to create and maintain a learning environment conducive to attainment of the goals of instruction (arranging the physical environment of the classroom, establishing rules and procedures, maintaining attention to lessons and engagement in academic activities). Student socialization refers to actions taken with the intention of influencing students' attitudes, beliefs, expectations, or behavior concerning personal or social (including moral and political) issues. Socialization includes articulation of ideals, communication of expectations, and modeling, teaching, and reinforcing of desirable personal attributes and behavior (done mostly with the class as a whole), as well as counseling, behavior modification, and other remediation work with students who show poor personal or social adjustment (done mostly with individuals). Disciplinary interventions are actions taken to elicit or compel changes in the behavior of students who fail to conform to expectations, especially behavior that is salient or sustained enough to disrupt the classroom management system.

These basic definitions and the perspective within which they are embedded are very similar to those expressed by Doyle (1986), especially the assumption that classroom management activities are closely associated with and should be designed to support the basic instructional activities for which schools were established in the first place. Thus, although the teacher is an authority figure in the classroom and will need to require the students to conform to certain rules and procedures, the rules and procedures are not ends in themselves but means for organizing the classroom as an environment that supports efficient teaching and learning within whatever constraints apply (space and equipment, time schedules, class size, etc.). Thus, I agree with Doyle in arguing that management decisions should be driven primarily by concerns about

continuity and quality of instruction rather than by concerns about exerting control over students for its own sake (and I would add that socialization decisions should be driven primarily by concerns about developing self-sustaining positive qualities in students rather than concerns about compelling conformity to demands through threats and sanctions).

The views expressed here are similar to those expressed by Doyle (1986) in most other respects, as well, although there are at least three general differences: (a) Student socialization is treated as a basic teacher function and as a topic that should receive attention along with classroom management in teacher education programs, rather than as a side issue that should not receive much emphasis; (b) teachers are treated as relatively more proactive and powerful in shaping classroom events (Doyle pictures them as relatively more reactive to powerful student resistance to activities that involve ambiguity or risk); and (c) although I agree with Doyle that for purposes of analysis one can separate classroom management activities designed to elicit student cooperation from instructional activities designed to elicit cognitive engagement with academic content, I also argue that the intertwining of classroom management activities and instructional activities during actual classroom practice is so complete as to require that management and instruction be considered simultaneously (not just separately) when educating teachers.

Teachers' Simplification Strategies

Classroom teaching is an extremely complex task that must be carried out in an extremely complex work environment. The individual elements involved in good teaching may not be especially difficult to learn, but during implementation under actual classroom conditions, they are numerous and shifting from moment to moment, so that it becomes very difficult to orchestrate them into an optimal combination that is ideally suited to the needs of any particular

moment, let alone to adjust continuously so as to be able to sustain an optimal situation throughout the day. Tutoring an individual student in a private setting is a relatively simple task for a teacher who has solid knowledge of the content to be taught, of pedagogical strategies for teaching it effectively, and of the student's current understanding, but that same teacher faces a much more formidable task when charged with simultaneously instructing 20-40 students in a classroom. Given the numbers of students involved and the fact that they differ in general personal adjustment and attitudes toward school as well as specific interest in and readiness to learn particular content, teachers must not only plan and implement activities geared to the central tendency of the group, but also attempt to meet the differing needs of individuals and to respond to emerging events that are only partly predictable. Like circus performers who keep plates spinning on top of sticks, teachers must not only establish a management system that works but keep it working by monitoring events continually and responding quickly when breakdowns threaten. Often they must resort to quick-fix measures that are less than ideal but make it possible for the system as a whole to continue functioning (and thus are temporarily preferable to more thorough responses to individual parts of the system that cannot be implemented at the moment without risking breakdowns in other parts and ultimately in the system as a whole).

Research on teaching has established that the key to successful classroom management (and to successful instruction as well) is the teacher's ability to maximize the time that students spend actively engaged in worthwhile academic activities (attending to lessons, working on assignments) and to minimize the time that they spend waiting for activities to get started, making transitions between activities, sitting with nothing to do, or engaging in misconduct. Good classroom management implies not only that the teacher has elicited the

cooperation of the students in minimizing misconduct and can intervene effectively when misconduct occurs, but also that worthwhile academic activities are occurring more or less continuously and that the classroom management system as a whole (which includes, but is not limited to, the teacher's disciplinary interventions) is designed to maximize student engagement in those activities, not merely to minimize misconduct. Thus, the academic activities themselves must be planned and implemented effectively, and classroom management moves must be made during and in between these activities in ways that support their continuity and impact. Successful interventions not only restore student engagement in academic activities, but do so in ways that do not disrupt the flow of the activities themselves.

The complexities involved in managing classrooms effectively can be reduced considerably through good advance planning and preparation. Teachers can help ensure the success of planned activities by arranging for an appropriate student seating pattern, having needed materials ready for efficient distribution to the students, and preparing thoroughly enough to be able to instruct (give information, ask questions, etc.) effectively without becoming confused or having to stop and consult a lesson plan or teacher's guide. Further simplification is achieved by developing routines and heuristics for handling commonly occurring situations.

Routines are standardized methods of handling particular situations. Many of these are consciously adopted by the teacher and even taught to the students in the form of classroom rules and procedures. By banning certain activities and requiring that other activities be done at certain times or in certain ways, rules and procedures simplify the complexities of life in classrooms for both teachers and students by imposing structures that make events more predictable. This reduces the students' needs to seek direction and the teacher's

needs to make decisions or give specific instructions concerning everyday events. Some routines are never formally taught to the students or even necessarily adopted consciously by the teacher, but nevertheless are developed through experience and activated consistently in response to particular triggering events. For example, Pittman (1985) found that a particular teacher had predictable responses to student tattling that were differentiated according to the nature of the behavior reported and the perceived motives of the tattler doing the reporting, and Carter (1985) described the case of another teacher who routinely supervised students more closely during seatwork times if they had not been paying close attention to the previous lesson than she did if they had been attending carefully to the lesson.

In addition to routines, teachers use heuristics (implicit rules of thumb) for monitoring classroom events and making decisions about whether and how to respond to emerging conditions. For example, teachers learn to identify cues (the identities of the students involved, the specific nature of their misbehavior) to help them predict which undesirable behaviors can be safely ignored and which may require intervention because they threaten to become disruptive. Teachers who are effective in identifying such cues and developing associated response routines that function automatically when triggered by the cues are better able than other teachers to optimize their classroom management by (a) intervening only when necessary, yet (b) intervening effectively when intervention is needed.

Taken together, what has been said so far underscores the complexity of the task facing teacher educators interested in preparing teachers to manage their classrooms effectively. These teachers will need not only propositional knowledge (concerning principles of effective classroom management) but also procedural knowledge (how to implement these principles effectively) and

conditional knowledge (when to implement them and for what reasons). Furthermore, this knowledge about classroom management will have to be integrated with knowledge of subject matter, pedagogy, and students within a coherent program of instruction that is suited to the opportunities and the constraints within which the teacher must work.

The teacher education task is further complicated by the fact that there are limits on how much can be accomplished through preservice programs. Some of the knowledge needed to sustain optimal classroom management success is domain-specific knowledge that can be acquired only through experience in the classroom and with the students involved. Also, because the nature of teacher-student interaction is only partly controllable through advance planning and preparation and predictable through prior knowledge and experience, there are limits on what can be done to develop teachers' routines and heuristics or to prepare them to respond effectively to emerging events that occur during interactive instruction. Thus, in addition to equipping teachers with a repertoire of concepts and strategies for managing classrooms effectively, good teacher education progams will also equip them to select from their repertoires those strategies most suited to their particular classrooms and to adapt or invent additional strategies as needed. This is most likely to occur if teachers are taught to approach classroom management planfully and reflectively, selecting strategies for the right reasons in the first place and then following up by monitoring their effectiveness and making whatever adjustments may be needed. Ideally, such conscious and systematic thinking would be applied not only to the development of classroom rules, procedures, and formally adopted policies, but also to the development of routines and the articulation of heuristics. Thus, the goal would be to train teachers to adopt classroom management strategies consciously and monitor their effectiveness of their classroom management

strategies given the goals articulated above, as opposed to failing to develop strategies that work, adopting strategies subconsciously and implementing them rigidly, or adopting them for the wrong reasons and thus subverting what should be their primary goals.

The Knowledge Base

Balanced against the complexities involved in preparing teachers to be effective classroom managers is the fact that the last 20 years of research on teaching have produced a relevant and useful knowledge base to inform this enterprise. As recently as 20 years ago, advice to teachers about classroom management was confined mostly to oversimplified aphorisms such as "Don't smile until Christmas," experience-based "bag of tricks" suggestions of unknown validity and generalizability, and principles drawn mostly from the animal learning laboratory or the psychotherapist's office rather than the classroom. All of this changed with the landmark research of Kounin (1970), who, in addition to discovering a great deal of useful information about effective classroom management, established a paradigm for conceptualizing and studying the topic that has proven remarkably effective and has guided scholarly work in the area ever since. Three key elements to this paradigm were (a) rather than merely speculating about effective classroom management or attempting to borrow principles developed in other settings, Kounin established a program of naturalistic empirical research, collecting data on how teachers manage the everyday activities that occur in classrooms; (b) he developed detailed descriptive information comparing more successful with less successful classroom managers, and in particular, describing the methods by which the more successful managers achieve their success; and (c) he established that the key to successful classroom management, as well as to successful research on the topic, is to focus on establishing and maintaining student engagement in academic lessons and

activities, rather than focusing on student misbehavior and disciplinary interventions.

Subsequent work in this same tradition, especially the work of Evertson, Emmer, Doyle, and others at the Research & Development Center for Teacher Education at the University of Texas at Austin, has replicated, elaborated, and considerably expanded the scope of the knowledge base that Kounin established. This development has included integration as well as differentiation of the knowledge base, so that its parts can be combined into an internally consistent and mutually supportive set of concepts and strategies that can be taught and learned as a single integrated system. Furthermore, given that this system was developed based on descriptions of effective practice and that experiments involving training teachers in the system have produced positive results (Evertson, Emmer, Sanford, & Clements, 1983; Evertson, 1985), educators can be confident of its validity and usefulness in addition to its theoretical coherence.

It should be noted that in speaking of a "system," I refer to a set of concepts and principles to be applied when relevant to particular teaching situations, rather than to a fixed set of behaviors to be implemented rigidly in all situations. What constitutes optimal classroom management will vary according to grade level, class size, the intended outcomes of the activity, and other factors. Certain principles apply to all situations but would be implemented in somewhat different ways, and other principles apply only to particular situations.

Most of the knowledge base (both the systematized thinking and the empirical data) on effective classroom management refers to the whole-class instruction/recitation/seatwork approach to teaching that traditionally has been the dominant approach used in elementary and secondary education. Major

classroom management elements to this approach include preparation of the classroom as a physical environment suited to the nature of the planned academic activities, development and implementation of a workable set of housekeeping procedures and conduct rules, maintenance of student attention to and participation in group lessons and activities, and monitoring of the quality of the students' engagement in assignments and of the progress they are making toward achievement of intended outcomes. These broader classroom management goals are accomplished through procedures and routines concerning such aspects as storing supplies and equipment, establishing traffic patterns, establishing general expectations and rules at the beginning of the school year, getting each class period started and ended, managing transitions between activities, keeping group activities going (once they are started) by stimulating involvement and intervening only in brief and nonintrusive ways if possible, giving directions for and getting the class started on seatwork assignments, and meeting the needs of individual students during times when one's attention can be safely diverted from instructing or supervising the work of the class as a whole.

There is little systematic research linking aspects of the physical environment of the classroom to teacher success in eliciting student task engagement or achievement gain, but useful principles can be identified on the basis of practical experience (store frequently used equipment where it will be easy to get out and return, arrange traffic patterns to emphasize one-way flow and minimize the degree to which students are likely to bump into one another, have enough supplies and equipment so that students do not have to wait idly for their turn to use some needed item) or analyses of the requirements implicit in the nature of activities themselves (all seats facing the front for teacher presentations and demonstrations, cluster seating for small-group

activities, circular patterns for discussions). To the extent that seating patterns or other aspects of the physical arrangement of the classroom can and should be changed to suit the needs of different types of activities, rules and procedures for accomplishing such transitions efficiently should be included among the routines introduced to the students.

The bulk of the empirical knowledge base concerns introducing rules and procedures, managing group lessons and activities, and supervising and establishing accountability for work on assignments. This includes the well-known work of Kounin (1970) on " with-it-ness," overlapping, signal continuity, momentum, group learning and accountability, variety and level of challenge in seatwork, and related topics; the work of Evertson, Emmer, and their colleagues on establishing effective rules, procedures, routines and accountability systems at the beginning of the year and maintaining them thereafter; and the work of Doyle and his colleagues on how teachers establish a work system and protect it through ushering, hovering, refusal to be sidetracked, and related mechanisms. These lines of work are all not only compatible but mutually reinforcing, and taken together they form the core of an empirically based yet integrated and theoretically grounded approach to classroom management within the whole-class instruction/recitation/seatwork approach to classroom teaching. For scholarly reviews of this work see Brophy (1983) and Doyle (1986), and for applications, see Emmer, Evertson, Sanford, Clements, and Worsham (1984), Evertson, Emmer, Clements, Sanford, and Worsham (1984), and Good and Brophy (1986, 1987).

Some information on elaborations and qualifications of this knowledge base is also available. For example, Evertson and Emmer (1982) have shown that, although the same general principles appear to apply across grade levels, elementary grade teachers need to place relatively more emphasis on formally instructing their students in desired procedures (e.g., teaching willing but

ignorant students how to do things they do not yet know how to do), whereas junior high school teachers need to place relatively more emphasis on installing and following through on accountability systems, especially systems for ensuring timely and appropriate completion of seatwork assignments (e.g., invoking sanctions to pressure less willing students to comply with expectations). More generally, Brophy and Evertson (1978) have suggested that changes in students' developmental levels create four different classroom management stages for K-12 teachers:

(a) Students in the primary grades tend to identify and cooperate with adults, but they are new to the school situation and require instruction not only in the formal academic curriculum but in the rules, procedures, and routines of classroom life. Consequently, considerable time is spent in classroom management in these early grades, but primarily in the instructional aspects of management (teaching the students what to do) rather than the disciplinary aspects (forcing them to do it if they don't do it voluntarily).

(b) Between second or third grade and fifth or sixth grade, teachers' needs to emphasize classroom management diminish because the students now know most of the procedures and routines they need to know and because most of them remain identified and cooperative with adults.

(c) Between fifth or sixth and ninth or tenth grades, students enter and go through adolescence, when they develop identification with their peers and distance themselves from or even begin to resent or resist adult authority. Thus, management concerns become prominent once again, although this time with relatively more emphasis on the disciplinary aspects (although the instructional aspects remain important).

(d) Finally, in the upper secondary grade levels most of the students have passed through the more rebellious stages of adolescence and have become

intellectually developed to the point that they show renewed and more sophisticated levels of interest in subject matter. Consequently, most of the teachers' energies are directed toward instruction in the formal curriculum rather than toward associated management activities, although it remains important for teachers to articulate and follow through on expectations and accountability systems.

Even within grade level, teachers will need to modify the basic classroom management system to adjust for the particulars of the situation. For example, it is likely that more time will have to be spent actively instructing the students as a group and leading them through reviews of work on assignments in low-ability classes, whereas relatively more time can be allocated to individual seatwork or work in small cooperative student groups in higher ability classes (Evertson, 1982). Similarly, larger classes may require more regimentation than comparable smaller classes, and heterogeneous classes may require more grouping and differentiation of lessons and assignments than more homogeneous classes require (Evertson, Sanford, & Emmer, 1981). There is no evidence that different classroom management principles apply to different racial or ethnic groups, but it seems likely that familiarity with local language and customs would help teachers to interpret and respond to their students' behavior more effectively.

In addition, supplementary or alternative management systems will be needed whenever teachers deviate from the traditional whole-class instruction/recitation/seatwork format. Only scattered data exist concerning effective management of alternative formats. Anderson, Evertson, and Brophy (1979, 1982), for example, have identified guidelines for small group instruction in reading in the primary grades; Slavin (1983) and others have developed guidelines for setting up and monitoring small-group cooperative learning activities; and

various authors have suggested guidelines for managing such alternatives to traditional instruction as individualized instruction, adaptive education, mastery learning, peer tutoring, and centers for independent learning (see Good & Brophy, 1987, for summaries and references on these topics). Teachers' instructional roles vary considerably according to the nature and objectives of these activities, but the same basic management principles that apply to traditional instruction apply to these alternative formats as well (establish a suitable physical environment, establish clear rules and expectations, instruct the students and provide them with practice in carrying out procedures and routines if necessary, etc.). Thus, both for this reason and because of widespread use of the traditional approach to teaching and the solid empirical grounding behind recommendations for managing this approach effectively, I believe that teacher education programs should prepare teachers to master this approach first as a base to work from and then move into supplementary or alternative formats as needed. This point will be taken up at length later.

Student Socialization

In contrast to the broad, deep, and coherent knowledge base concerning classroom management, there are practically no direct data on effective student socialization. In addition, there is professional disagreement about appropriate roles and responsibilities of teachers. Virtually everyone agrees that formal instruction in the academic curriculum is accompanied not only by unsystematic socialization in a "hidden curriculum" but also by deliberate attempts to influence students' social and political attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior. Disagreements abound, however, concerning such issues as whether teachers should confine themselves to helping students to articulate and clarify their own values or instead should attempt to inculcate particular values, and if the latter, what particular sets of values they should try to inculcate.

There is also disagreement concerning the degree to which teachers should concern themselves with their students' personal and social adjustments in areas not directly related to the academic curriculum, as well as about the degree to which teachers should assume personal responsibility for working with problem students rather than refer them for handling by school administrators, counselors, or social workers.

Clearly, a range of views is possible here. At one extreme is the view that teachers should act strictly as subject matter specialists concerned solely with instructing their students in the formal academic curriculum, leaving disciplinary activity to school administrators and mental health assistance to counselors and social workers. At the other extreme is the view that instruction is just one of many important teacher functions and that teachers should also act as parent surrogates, cultural socializers, and psychotherapists to their students. In the abstract, each of these extreme views is legitimate and can be supported with logical arguments. I believe, however, that neither can be sustained in practice.

Teachers who wish to function solely as academic instructors probably can do so only at the upper secondary grade levels, and even then only by concentrating on lecturing and giving assignments while minimizing recitation, discussion, and all forms of dyadic interaction with the students. In short, even at these grade levels it is difficult to imagine how someone could be a good teacher without attempting to develop the students' interests in the subject matter, link it with their experiences, and provide them with opportunities to ask questions, venture opinions, and in general, to interact with the subject matter in active and personalized ways. In turn, such an emphasis on meaningful and personalized instruction will necessarily lead to class discussion of affectively tinged and controversial material. Furthermore, if the

teacher has credibility and student respect, and especially if the teacher has socially desirable personal qualities, all of this will soon lead to student initiatives in and out of class that will develop personal relationships and cast the teacher into parent surrogate or therapist roles. Thus, I do not believe that it is possible for good teachers working in the upper secondary grades to avoid these roles even if they should want to, and of course it is even less possible for teachers working in the middle grades where personal initiations and challenges from students occur routinely or in the lower grades where teachers typically spend all or at least most of their day with the same class of students and where many of the students will look to them routinely for guidance, support, limit-setting, and other parent surrogate functions.

Another practical difficulty with the notion of teachers acting exclusively as instructors is that personality conflicts and disciplinary problems that occur in classrooms tend to be handled more satisfactorily when handled by teachers themselves (or at least by a team that includes the active involvement of the teacher) than when referred for handling by authority figures outside the classroom (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981). It is true that a degree of behavior control can be exerted through sending students to the office or suspending them from class and that these or other punitive measures may be needed as part of the solution for certain persistently troublesome students. However, it is also true that genuinely satisfactory solutions to such problems are not likely unless the students involved have an opportunity to work through the emotions driving their provocative behavior and to develop more positive attitudes toward the teacher and the class that would motivate them to participate with the intention of gaining the intended outcomes from the class, and not merely to curb their disruptive behavior. Such solutions are unlikely to occur

unless teachers develop personal relationships with such students and work within those relationships to improve the students' attitudes and behavior.

It appears even less viable for teachers to take the opposite extreme view that they are parent surrogates or therapists first and instructors only secondarily. For one thing, this attitude conflicts with the predominant view in society at large that schools are established primarily to educate students in academic knowledge and skills and that character training is primarily the function of the family. Also, although there are some worthwhile affective and moral education programs available for use with the class as a whole, most parent surrogate or therapy activities take place with individuals rather than with the class as a group and are best done unhurriedly and in private. Teachers do not have many opportunities for unhurried, private interactions with individual students during class time. Finally, teachers seldom get systematic training in socialization or counseling techniques, and even when they do, it is likely to come from individuals whose ideas are based on untested theoretical commitments and who have established their reputations on the basis of self-promotion and dynamic speaking abilities rather than the accumulation of scientific data supporting the efficacy of their programs. Perhaps this is why teachers who emphasize socialization goals do not appear to be especially effective in reaching those goals. Brophy (1985) reported that teachers who were oriented more to socialization goals than to instructional goals were no more effective at handling problem students than teachers who expressed the opposite role definition, and Prawat (1985) reported that teachers who placed heavy emphasis on affective outcomes were actually less successful in achieving these outcomes (as well as less successful in achieving cognitive outcomes) than teachers who espoused a more balanced emphasis on cognitive and affective outcomes.

The preceding logical considerations and research findings suggest that a moderate or balanced position on the socialization vs. instructional role issue is preferable to either extreme position. There are also more positive arguments to suggest that teachers should provide a degree of individual support and counseling to their students in addition to instructing them in the academic curriculum. First, we know that students undergoing emotional turmoil will find it difficult to concentrate on learning the academic curriculum, so that emotional support and assistance from teachers in learning to cope with their problems may help such students not only from the perspective of mental health but even from the perspective of academic achievement. Second, many students do not have anyone at home who consistently helps them by offering friendly advice or being available to help them work through their personal problems. Help from a supportive teacher may be the only adult help that many of these students are likely to get (unless their personal or home situations deteriorate to the point that social or police agencies become involved, by which time it is often too late for help to be very effective).

Finally, although they are not trained as therapists and do not have the time to do much unhurried counseling of troubled students in private settings, teachers do have certain specialized knowledge about their students that parents and therapists do not have, as well as certain unique opportunities to socialize them. Teachers work with large numbers of students of similar ages, so that they develop a perspective (better than that of most parents) about what is normal and abnormal and thus may be better able to distinguish serious concerns from minor ones and to evaluate students along a greater range of dimensions. Unlike therapists, teachers have opportunities to observe students interacting with their peers and coping with the challenges of the school situation, as well as to learn about how students are perceived by their peers.

This knowledge provides them with a reality check for evaluating the self-report information that they get from these students, and it also provides a basis for initiating discussions with the students about important events in their lives (rather than being limited, as therapists are, to responding to material that their clients have chosen to bring up on their own initiative). Teachers can also use their specialized knowledge about students to help them recognize and work on their troublesome personal traits, to help them cope with developmental tasks and other age- and stage-related challenges, and to make academic or vocational counseling suggestions suited to their interests and abilities.

In summary, I believe that teachers should include socialization and counseling of students along with instructing them in the formal academic curriculum as part of their definition of the teacher role. I recognize that most of such socialization and counseling will have to be done outside of class time, however, not only because the public expects schools to concentrate primarily on instruction rather than socialization, but also because an academic focus appears to be crucial to effective classroom management. Thus, although I believe that teachers' socialization functions are important and worthy of attention in teacher education programs, I also believe that they are secondary to teachers' primary instructional functions. Teachers are not counselors, social workers, or therapists. Although they can, and I believe should, extend special consideration and make extra efforts to help troubled students, they cannot make deals that would undermine their credibility as authority figures in the classroom, cannot simply overlook flagrant misconduct, and cannot consistently accommodate individuals in ways that involve costs to the class as a whole.

So far, this discussion of student socialization has focused on the issue of teacher role definition, noting that the task facing teacher educators is complicated by disagreement about the degree to which teachers should emphasize student socialization in addition to instruction in the academic curriculum. The task is further complicated by another problem, however: a very limited knowledge base. In particular, there is little if any process-outcome research on classroom socialization--research in which measures of particular teacher behaviors or implementation of particular student socialization programs were taken and related to measures of change in student outcomes. To the extent that such data do exist, they mostly focus on behavior modification strategies, which until recently were oriented primarily toward exerting situational control over students' behavior rather than toward changing the students in more fundamental ways by developing internalized and generalized self-guidance and self-control systems in these students.

Even in the absence of definitive classroom research, however, we have come a long way from where we were about 20 years ago, when most of the student socialization advice directed to teachers was based either on Skinner's ideas concerning applied behavior analysis or on the ideas of Freud, Adler, or Carl Rogers concerning counseling and psychotherapy. The cognitive revolution in psychology and the proliferation and increasing eclecticism of treatment methods, among other factors, have evolved to the point that it is now possible to identify a coherent set of concepts and strategies for socializing students that (a) are shared in common by and in effect reflect a consensus of the majority of mental health professionals concerning principles of effective practice, even though specific empirical support for the efficacy of any particular element may be limited or even nonexistent, and (b) are suitable for use by teachers working under normal conditions. Thus, by piecing together elements drawn

from various sources, it is possible to identify a coherent conceptual base, if not an established knowledge base, to inform teacher education concerning strategies for socializing students.

One source is the literature on child rearing, and in particular on parental orientations and behaviors that are associated with the development of desirable personal and social traits in children (Brophy, 1977; Brophy & Willis, 1981; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Another source is the literature on teaching through modeling, and especially on the attributes of models that are likely to be admired and imitated by others (Bandura, 1977; Good & Brophy, 1987). Another is the literature on expectation and social labeling effects, particularly as it applies to the development of desirable personal and social attributes (Good & Brophy, 1987). Another is the literature on cognitive behavior modification and strategy training, with its emphasis on development of self-control and self-guidance mechanisms in students (Kendall & Braswell, 1982; Kendall & Hollon, 1979; Meichenbaum, 1977). Finally, there are suggestions from clinical psychologists who have adapted ideas that they use in the therapy setting for use by teachers in classrooms. These include the Adlerian approach of Dreikurs (1968), the life space interviewing technique (Morse, 1971), Glasser's (1977) Ten Steps to Good Discipline, and Gordon's (1974) Teacher Effectiveness Training.

Although each of these literatures has unique elements and no two of them are completely compatible in every respect, it is possible to abstract from them a coherent set of compatible concepts and strategies that (a) can be taught and used as a systematic approach to student socialization, (b) reflects ideas common to a broad range of mental health experts, and (c) is compatible with the notion of the teacher as a professional who has particular expertise and specific but limited responsibilities to students and their parents, as well

as certain rights as the instructional leader and authority figure in the classroom.

Key elements in a systematic approach to socializing the class as a whole include modeling and instruction, communication of positive expectations and social labels, and reinforcement of desired behavior. Modeling is the most basic element, because teachers cannot hope to be successful socializers if they do not practice what they preach. Modeling (accompanied by verbalization of associated self-talk that guides behavior) is also important as an instructional method, particularly for conveying the thinking and decision making involved in acting according to the Golden Rule and other guidelines for prosocial behavior. Where prosocial behavior is complex or difficult for the students to learn, modeling may have to be supplemented with instruction (including practice exercises) in desirable social skills and coping strategies. Ideally, such instruction will include attention not only to propositional knowledge (description of the skill and explanation of why it is desirable) but also procedural knowledge (how to implement the skill) and conditional knowledge (when and why to implement it).

Consistent projection of positive expectations, attributions, and social labels to the students is important in fostering positive self-concepts and related motives that orient them toward prosocial behavior. In short, students who are consistently treated as if they are well-intentioned individuals who respect themselves and others and desire to act responsibly, morally, and prosocially are more likely to live up to these expectations and acquire these qualities than students who are treated as if they had the opposite qualities. This is all the more likely if their positive qualities and behaviors are reinforced, not so much through material rewards as through expressions of appreciation delivered in ways likely to increase the students' tendencies to attribute

their desirable behavior to their own desirable underlying personal traits and to reinforce themselves for possessing and acting on the basis of these traits (see Brophy, 1981, for suggestions on methods of praising students in ways that encourage them to attribute desirable behavior to their own desirable traits rather than to external causes).

In functioning as the authority figure in the classroom, teachers need to learn to be authoritative (Baumrind, 1971) rather than either authoritarian or laissez-faire. They have both the right and the responsibility to exert leadership and impose control, but they will be more successful in doing so if they are understanding and supportive of the students and if they make sure that students understand the reasons behind demands in addition to the demands themselves. They will also be more successful if they focus on desired behavior (stressing what to do rather than what not to do) and follow up with cues and reminders, thus minimizing the need for scolding or threatening punishment. They will also need to be prepared to cope with value differences and legitimate questioning of their conduct guidelines, so that they can avoid responding defensively and can supply objectively good reasons for their behavioral demands.

Teachers will also need to learn basic socialization and counseling skills for working with individual students, especially students who display chronic problems in personal development or social adjustment. Basic skills here include developing personal relationships with such students and reassuring them of continued concern about their welfare despite their provocative behavior; monitoring them closely and intervening frequently (if necessary) but briefly and nondisruptively to keep them engaged in academic activities during class time; dealing with their problems in more sustained ways outside of class time; handling conflicts calmly without engaging in power struggles; questioning students in ways that are likely to motivate them to talk freely

and supply the desired information; using active listening, reflection, interpretation, and related techniques for drawing students out and helping them to develop better insight into themselves and their behavior; negotiating agreements and behavior contracts; insisting that students accept responsibility for controlling their own behavior while at the same time supportively helping them to do so; and developing productive relationships with the students' parents. These are basic student socialization skills that most if not all teachers are likely to need and use frequently, so I would expect good teacher education programs to include attention to at least the basic principles of student socialization (see Good & Brophy, 1986, 1987, for elaboration), in addition to their instruction in classroom management.

Disciplinary Interventions

As with student socialization, the input available to teacher educators concerning disciplinary interventions is better described as a conceptual base reflecting a consensus of expert opinion than as a knowledge base reflecting established scientific findings. Research findings are available to suggest that authoritative teachers are more effective than either authoritarian or laissez-faire teachers and that teachers who favor soft reprimands are more effective than teachers who use harsh reprimands, and of course several major studies have found that teachers who concentrate on establishing and maintaining academic activities and who ignore minor inattention or respond to it briefly and nondisruptively are more effective than teachers who overreact to it. However, little research-based information is available on effective teacher responses to repeated and flagrant misconduct. Most of the relevant literature is on general techniques (such as life space interviewing, Glasser's 10-step procedure, and behavior modification procedures) rather than specific responses tailored to specific types of students or situations.

Once again, however, some general principles can be identified: Minimize power struggles and face-saving gestures by discussing the incident with the student in private rather than in front of the class; question the student to determine his or her awareness of the behavior and explanations for it; make sure that the student understands why the behavior is inappropriate and cannot be tolerated; seek to get the student to accept responsibility for the behavior and to make a commitment to change; provide any needed modeling or instruction in better ways of coping; work with the student to develop a mutually agreeable plan for solving the problem; concentrate on developing desirable behavior through positive socialization and instruction rather than merely on controlling misbehavior through threats of punishment, but if necessary warn the student of punishment or other negative consequences that can be expected if the misconduct continues; and if it does become necessary to punish, do so with emphasis on pressuring the student to change behavior rather than with emphasis on exacting retribution (see Good & Brophy, 1986, 1987, for details on these issues).

Teacher Education

Having distinguished among classroom management, student socialization, and disciplinary interventions and considered the research findings and consensus of expert opinion available concerning these topics, I now turn to issues of teacher education. I will not attempt to specify particular instructional units or courses, but instead will suggest some general principles that I believe should guide teacher education in these areas.

Conceptual Change Teaching

It is a truism of the profession that good teaching begins where the learners are and proceeds from there. Until recently, this has been taken to mean

identifying connections between the new material to be learned and the learners' existing knowledge and using those connections to frame the new material within familiar contexts and thus make it more familiar and easier to learn. In short, the learners' existing knowledge has been viewed as an ally or building block for the teacher.

More recently, however, theory and research in science education have developed around the recognition that learners' prior knowledge can also function as an impediment to successful instruction, especially when that prior knowledge includes belief in misconceptions that are commonly held and may even appear to be valid but in fact are incorrect. If students believe that plants obtain their food from the surrounding soil, for example, they may misconstrue or fail to understand the implications of what they are supposed to learn from lessons on photosynthesis (such as that plants use the energy from sunlight to make their own food), so that the misconception remains intact despite the instruction (Eaton, Anderson, & Smith, 1984).

In order to clear up such misconceptions and counteract their potential for negating or distorting the effects of one's efforts to teach the correct conceptions, it is necessary not only to formulate and communicate the correct conceptions clearly, but also to embed this instruction within a more comprehensive approach that is coming to be known as conceptual change teaching (Anderson & Smith, 1987). Conceptual change teaching is based on the recognition that teaching does not involve infusing knowledge into a vacuum, but instead involves extending or changing existing concepts, some of which may be incorrect. When there is reason to believe that learners may harbor misconceptions, and especially if those misconceptions appear to have face validity and thus are likely to persist unless they are specifically refuted, the conceptual change approach calls for designing instruction so that it brings students' misconceptions to

the surface and counteracats them in addition to teaching students the correct conceptions accurately. This is accomplished by describing common misconceptions and labeling them as such, calling attention to key differences between the accurate conception and the misconception, and listing the important mistaken inferences and errors that are likely to occur if people act on the basis of the misconception rather than the accurate conception. Sometimes, successful conceptual change teaching requires not merely the correction of a single misconception but the wholesale replacement of an entire network of ideas that has been distorted by one or more key misconceptions with a new network reflecting accurate conceptions and their interrelationships.

In my view, classroom management is one aspect of teacher education that calls for conceptual change teaching, because many students enter teacher education programs not merely lacking knowledge about effective classroom management but also harboring mistaken attitudes and beliefs (misconceptions) that are likely to persist unless directly confronted and refuted. For starters, most students will identify classroom management with disciplinary interventions and thus will believe that the key to effective classroom management is instilling respect for their authority and eliciting obedience to their commands. Many students will have to be shown that this is a misconception that leads to ineffective practices before they will be prepared to understand and appreciate the implications of the need to view classroom management as a process of establishing and maintaining an effective learning environment.

Besides confronting this generally held misconception, teacher educators will need to be prepared to confront other misconceptions held in common by certain subsets of their students. For example, students who harbor overly idealistic notions of the teacher role or overly romanticized notions about human nature will need to be made aware that good intentions alone are not

enough, that they will not be able to function strictly as buddies or facilitators for their students, that some students will not act responsibly unless pressured to do so, and in general, that teachers have authority figure responsibilities and agendas to accomplish and therefore must make and enforce demands on their students. Similarly (and more often in these conservative times), teacher educators must be prepared to confront and counteract the misconceptions of authoritarian students by showing them that their emphasis should be on teaching their pupils what to do and how to do it rather than on threatening them with punishment for failure to do so, that successful socialization involves developing inner controls in addition to imposing control externally, that punishment should be used sparingly and only as part of a program for changing behavior rather than as a retribution mechanism, and that one should attempt to avoid and defuse power struggles rather than to "win" them.

In summary, I believe that effective teacher education concerning classroom management and related topics not only will teach desirable concepts and strategies but also will attempt to bring to the surface and counteract commonly held misconceptions. I believe that teacher educators should label misconceptions as such, underscore key contrasts with correct conceptions, and call attention to self-defeating aspects of the classroom strategies that are associated with these misconceptions.

Apprenticeship Model as Ideal

As complex sets of related skills to be implemented in particular settings, classroom management strategies appear to be examples of the kinds of complex skill learning that are accomplished most naturally under instructional conditions that follow the apprenticeship model (Collins, Brown, & Newman, in press). In the apprenticeship model, a novice learns from an expert by spending sustained time as the expert's apprentice, observing the expert perform the task,

asking questions and receiving tutorial assistance, and gradually assuming increasing personal responsibilities as knowledge and skills develop. Key instructional strategies used by the expert are modeling, coaching, and fading: The expert initially models the task for the novice and then provides coaching (cues, instructions, feedback) as the novice attempts the task, reducing (fading) the amount of coaching and turning over more and more responsibility for independent task completion to the novice as his or her skills develop. For highly complex skills the expert may also provide scaffolding assistance by arranging for the novice to work on an artificially simplified version of the task, by performing the more complex aspects while allowing the novice to perform the simpler aspects, or by in some other way making it possible for the novice to develop mastery of parts of the task before being required to attempt the task as a whole. By learning gradually through this apprenticeship model, novices get opportunities to observe the entire task being modeled in context (rather than just receiving verbal descriptions of the process). Yet, they also have the chance to work on parts of the task separately and master them to the point of automaticity (making them available for activation as routines), thus increasing the likelihood that they will be able to handle all of the complexities involved in orchestrating the parts into a smooth performance of the task as a whole when the time comes to attempt it.

It seems clear that novice teachers' classroom management skills would be developed both most easily and thoroughly if teacher educators could arrange for novices to spend several years working as apprentices to several different expert teachers. Such an arrangement is not currently feasible, however, and probably never will be, so that instead of designing ideal instruction in classroom management skills, teacher educators must think in terms of designing the best instruction that can be offered under the circumstances. In my view,

this translates into a combination of didactic instruction in basic concepts and skills, carefully planned classroom observation and student teaching experiences designed to ensure that students get the most out of the limited field experiences and apprenticeship opportunities that are available to them, and use of case materials and simulation exercises as substitutes for field experiences that cannot be included in the program.

The didactic instruction would concentrate on the basic concepts and strategies mentioned in earlier sections of this paper, and especially on the knowledge base that has accumulated from research on classroom management. Such instruction would focus not only on the goals but on the strategies involved in effective classroom management. In short, it would involve teaching action systems by arranging for students to learn not only propositional knowledge (descriptions of effective management strategies) but also procedural knowledge (how to implement those strategies) and conditional knowledge (when and why to implement them). Thus, in addition to typical textbook-based learning, the students would respond to vignettes or other simulation exercises requiring them to make decisions about effective management of particular situations; would be asked to develop lists of classroom rules, seatwork accountability systems, and procedures for beginning and ending lessons, handling transitions between activities, and other aspects of classroom management for which specific plans can be developed in advance; and would be observed and given feedback concerning their performance as classroom managers during student teaching.

Field experiences would be structured to ensure that students made the most of the limited time available and focused their learning efforts on key issues and skills. Students would be cued to notice the general classroom management systems (rules, procedures, routines) that were being implemented in the classrooms that they visited, and they would have at least one and

preferably two or three opportunities to do sustained and guided observation during the first week or two of the school year. In general, classroom observations would be structured through checklists, lists of questions to answer, or other mechanisms for cueing attention to particular details of classroom management, and student teaching would include planning assignments focused on classroom management and opportunities for feedback and reflection on classroom management issues.

Finally, didactic instruction and structured field experience would be supplemented with case literature and simulation exercises designed to fill in gaps and provide additional instruction and practice on key strategies. Case materials might include, for example, model descriptions of classroom rules, procedures, and routines, grouped separately for each grade level or at least for the four stages identified by Brophy and Evertson (1978). There would also be conceptual analysis and modeling of particular teachers' classroom management thinking and behavior. These would include contrasts between more effective and less effective classroom managers such as those presented by Kounin (1970), Carter (1985, 1986), and Evertson, Emmer, and their colleagues (e.g., Sanford & Evertson, 1981).

There would also be models and diagrams of heuristics and associated routines that teachers develop for handling situations that arise during interactive teaching, such as those presented by Conners (1978), Marland (1977), and especially Pittman (1985). Eventually, in fact, as more and more information is accumulated about effective routines, I would like to see such routines not only described in prose form in case studies but diagrammed as algorithms that provide clarity and focus attention on the key aspects of the situations in which the routines are useful, the cues that the teacher would use to diagnose the situation, the decision rules (if any) to be followed in identifying the

best available response, and the cues to monitor in deciding whether or not the response has been successful. I urge the construction and use of such diagrams not as a mechanism for reducing as much as possible of classroom management to set routines that can be activated automatically (although some of this is desirable), but instead as a simplification device to help student teachers to cut through the complexities of the classroom and focus attention squarely on the key elements of particular management situations.

I would also like to see more use of simulation exercises that describe particular situations likely to arise in classrooms and require students to tell how they would handle those situations. Traditionally, such simulation has been achieved through exercises calling for development of plans or for responses to vignettes, but more recently we have seen the beginnings of development of computerized approaches that can simulate chains of connected decision points or provide students with opportunities to explore alternatives and get feedback on the hypothetical results of their decisions. I believe that computerized approaches have exciting potential and should be incorporated into teacher education programs that have the necessary computer equipment available, but I also suggest two cautions concerning their use: (a) There should be evidence that the software provides appropriate and effective instruction that is congruent with the ideas guiding the teacher education program as a whole and that it adds something worthwhile to the rest of the program (computerized instruction per se is not necessarily either valid or cost effective), and (b) the nature of the simulation exercises used and the relative emphasis on their use should not have the undesirable effect of concentrating everyone's attention on methods of responding to problems (breakdowns in the management system) at the expense of attention to methods of establishing and maintaining classroom management systems that minimize the likelihood that such problems will occur in the first place.

An Integrated Approach

Teacher educators must decide whether to concentrate the time and resources available for teaching classroom management on systematic coverage of a single integrated approach or to offer briefer coverage of several different approaches. I strongly favor the former choice, for three reasons. First, students who receive sustained and integrated instruction in a single approach are likely to master that approach to the point of being able to use it in the classroom, but students offered only brief exposure to a variety of different approaches are likely to find such instruction ineffective or even counterproductive (if the emphasis has been on the contradictions between different approaches rather than on the commonalities across them). Second, many of the approaches taught in survey classes are not research-based and are concentrated on disciplinary interventions and the more remedial aspects of student socialization; they tend to have little to say about classroom management or about developing pro-social attitudes and behavior in the students. Finally, the strength of the empirical data base and consensus of expert opinion that exists in support of certain concepts and related strategies amounts to a serious scientific knowledge base rather than merely a point of view. I believe that we know a great deal about effective classroom management that was not known in any firm scientific sense even 20 years ago and that this knowledge should inform teacher education efforts.

Sustained instruction in a single integrated approach is especially important given the complexity of classroom management and the need to truncate and partially substitute for the apprenticeship approach to teaching it. If student teachers are to have any chance of developing coherent classroom management strategies that include immediately accessible routines and heuristics, they will need clear, coherent conceptions of what they are trying to accomplish,

concepts and labels to use for identifying and distinguishing among commonly occurring classroom management situations, goals, and strategies; opportunities to practice particular skills and procedures until they become reliable routines (often within simplified or scaffolded contexts such as microteaching assignments or decision-making simulation exercises); and opportunities for feedback and guided reflection designed to ensure that management routines and heuristics mastered to the point of automaticity are adopted consciously and with the recognition of when and why they should be used and how they fit together with other elements in the larger system (rather than being acquired without conscious awareness or evaluation).

If the instruction that student teachers receive is sufficiently integrated and systematic, they will eventually learn to think about classroom management within a context-goals-strategies-repairs framework that will provide coherence to their planning and implementation of management strategies; that is, they will learn to distinguish among different instructional contexts and the goals that are associated with each respective context, to select management strategies that are congruent with accomplishment of the goals (this would include activating appropriate established routines as well as planning the procedures for managing any unusual aspects of the situation for which established routines are not available), and responding to any difficulties encountered during implementation of the activity in ways that support accomplishment of its goals.

Start With the Basics

Even if teacher educators accept the advice given above and confine their efforts to instructing students in a single integrated approach reflecting the findings of research on classroom management and the consensus of expert opinion on student socialization and disciplinary interventions, they will not

have time for thorough coverage of everything that might be addressed. Here again, if a choice must be made between brief exposure to many things and thorough coverage of fewer things, I would recommend the latter choice. In particular, I would place more emphasis on classroom management than on student socialization in educating beginning teachers, and within classroom management, I would emphasize strategies for handling the instructional situations that particular student teachers are most likely to encounter in their intended careers.

For regular classroom teachers, this would mean beginning with the traditional whole-class instruction/recitation/seatwork situation. Mastery of this instructional situation will be necessary to successful classroom management for most teachers, even if it is not sufficient. In addition, it is probably the simplest instructional format to manage, as well as the one that is the focus of most of the available research findings. Thus, teachers who have been taught a systematic strategy for managing this instructional situation will have been equipped with a valuable set of basic classroom management skills.

This will only be a "starter set" of course. Teachers will have to learn refinements and adaptations of this basic approach (making appropriate shifts in leadership role and questioning style when they intend to engender discussion rather than to direct recitation, making detours from established plans when opportunities to take advantage of "teachable moments" arise, arranging for students to work on assignments in pairs or small groups, differentiating assignments in order to provide a degree of individualized instruction, taking opportunities to provide remedial instruction to individuals or small groups once the rest of the class is settled into seatwork). In addition, certain teachers will need sustained instruction in strategies for managing one or more alternative instructional situations (primary grade teachers need to learn

the management of small-group reading instruction and transitions between reading groups, as well as methods for keeping the rest of the class profitably occupied during times when the teacher is instructing a small group; mathematics teachers need to learn to manage boardwork and checking/correction procedures; science teachers need to learn to manage laboratory activities; social studies teachers need to learn to manage simulation activities; language arts teachers need to learn to manage drama and debate activities; and so on). Such additional learning is likely to be accomplished more smoothly, however, if it occurs subsequent to mastery of the "starter set" of skills mentioned above. A great deal of theory and research in developmental and educational psychology indicates that it is difficult and confusing to try to learn a great many different things simultaneously, even if those things are related. Instead, it is much easier to learn by first mastering a subset of those things thoroughly so that this knowledge functions as a base into which to assimilate or from which to accommodate to new input. There is every reason to believe that this generalization applies to the learning of classroom management strategies for different classroom situations.

Although I would concentrate on classroom management rather than on student socialization or disciplinary interventions, I would also want to address these latter topics at least to the extent of teaching the basic principles and associated strategies reviewed above. In particular, I would want to be sure that student teachers understood and consistently acted on the principles that (a) socialization efforts should concentrate on the development of desired attributes through modeling, instruction, and communication of positive expectations and attributions rather than on disciplinary interventions and (b) remediation efforts that do occur should be focused on replacing undesirable behavior, not administering punishment. I would reserve instruction in more

sophisticated socialization strategies (counseling and psychotherapy techniques, cognitive behavior modification techniques) for inservice education of teachers who are interested in acquiring such skills.

Conclusion

How much can be accomplished through good preservice education in classroom management concepts and strategies remains to be seen. Events of the last 20 years provide cause for optimism, however, because the development of an established knowledge base concerning effective classroom management and of a consensus of expert opinion about principles for effective student socialization and disciplinary interventions has made it possible to instruct students systematically in a single coherent approach rather than merely provide them with brief exposure to contrasting points of view. I believe that such integrated instruction, especially if organized according to the principles outlined above, could succeed in enabling novice teachers to accomplish effectively those aspects of classroom management that can be planned in advance (preparation of the physical environment of the classroom, development of basic rules and procedures), to develop routines for handling commonly occurring classroom management situations, and to at least make a start in developing heuristics and associated routines for responding to less predictable situations that develop during interaction with students. In addition, it would equip such teachers with a systematic way of thinking about classroom management and related topics that would leave them well positioned to adapt or invent strategies for managing new situations that arise during their careers and for adding or changing routines as a result of conscious evaluation and adoption rather than merely acquiring them through conditioning without awareness.

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